1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

SOCIAL RELATIONS

Family Groups

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial groups.

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary matrilocal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit.

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman cook. The following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records; they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods.

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Coues found approximately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.[1] On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause loss in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.[2]

[1] Coues, 345.

[2] Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Hrdlička found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all Indians, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents (Ⓒ, 39-41). The Havasupai sex ratio is 121.0 males to 100 females; in 1905 it was 145, in 1909, 151. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

591 583 551

51. Shorty lived with his mother, Capt. Burro's sister, near her brother's house, 62. Twyadjava, who lived at his father's house, 4>Sakwemidja at her father's house, 6; then he took her to 4. He died and she returned to her mother on her late father's land at 13. Shorty>her at 13; then took her to 51 on her father's land.

53. Mark, who lived on his mother's brother's land at 53>Andjelik at her brother's house, 8. Then took her to 53; she died. Henry, his brother, who lived with their mother at their dead stepfather's house at 32>Nina at her father's house, 69. Then to 53: she died in 1919.

54. Roger, who lived at father's site at 54>Rock Jones' daughter at her father's, 22. Took her to 54; she died. Then he>a Walapai: brought her to 54; she ran away.

55. Tobey, who lived with older brother, Puteilvoiya, at 57>Capt. Jim's daughter at her father's (207); she died. Took Mrocs from her father's house, 48, to 55 on his maternal grandmother's brother's land.

56. Little Jim, who lived with his father at 12>his older brother's wife's younger sister who lived with her father at 70. Then brought her near his brother's, 12. She died and he went to live at 61. Then he>Susie, a Walapai, at Pine Spring; then to 56.

57. Puteilvoiya, who lived at father's house, 60>Deskumlauwa's younger sister who lived with her sister's husband at 62. Then to 57 on father's land. His brother Fred who lived with him (at 57?)>Watahomidja's daughter at her father's house, 16. Then he took her to 57; she died. Then he went>Helen at her father's house, 10; he died.

58. Smiley, who lived alone at 31>a woman who lived at 19. Deskumlauwa lived with Smiley's older brother at 2. He died and Smiley took her to 58 on his mother's land. (His father was a Walapai).

Property and Inheritance

311 423

Private ownership of land exists only where the land is cultivated. With the exception of a few patches elsewhere in their territory, such as the Indian Gardens on the Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon Station, the fields are located in the vicinity of the village in Cataract Canyon. About one hundred acres (one-fifth) of the bottom land there is tillable; depending on the height of the creek permitting irrigation, all of it is farmed. Holdings are not in large continuous strips, but numerous patches scattered through the two or more miles of canyon above the falls. This haphazard distribution is due not only to the chances of inheritance, transfer, and sale, but more particularly to the changes wrought by the marauding creek. The stream changes its level and often its position with each big flood, wiping out some fields and leaving others beyond the reach of irrigation, forces their abandonment. The whole group of holdings near Walapai Canyon has been obliterated in this way. Such changes will sometimes bring hitherto uncleared lands and others long abandoned within the possibility of cultivation, when they are almost certain to be used without delay by someone desiring additional fields.

311 133 423

311 423

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

ing additional fields. Proprietary rights in land depend most emphatically on use, for unless it is generally understood that a patch has not been finally abandoned, someone does not fail to occupy it if it is at all cultivable. 311 423

The cultivated land forms a continuous strip through the canyon of corn and alfalfa fields, pastures, orchards, and groves. Boundaries are definite and marked by fences, lines of trees, or ditches. Fencing may be an old custom as Cushing saw wooden fences in use in 1881.[1]

Title to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support. For instance, a Walapai widow who lives with her Havasupai stepdaughter has taken an unattractive patch for her own. When a woman marries she transfers her planting activities from her own family fields to those of her husband. Children are never land owners, although they may help their elders to plant. There is not even nominal ownership in order to distribute the hazard of bad luck such as occurs among the White Mountain Apache. If parents have sufficient land, they allow their adult children to plant in the surplus. Thus, Teikapaniga and his wife let their children, Jess (and his wife) and Helen, use half their land. Since Helen married she assists her husband in planting his fields. 423 [592] [589]

Land is inherited in the male line. All the sons share in the joint heritage, which may remain undivided for years until they have established families whose diverse interests make parceling desirable. The widow and unmarried daughters share at least in the use of the land, but they cannot be said to have title to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If the widow re-marries too soon, her interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. In the absence of direct heirs, i.e., sons or their male descendants, unmarried daughters, or widow, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male heirs. Evidently daughters retain some right to share the use of their parents' land even after they marry, since a portion is often set aside for them to plant for the support of their children. Such land normally reverts to their fathers' families. Divorced and widowed women have at all times the privilege of falling back on the parental lands for support. 428 [562] [589] [736]

[1] Cushing, (a), 374; compare Zuñi stone-mound boundaries (Cushing, (d), 153) and Navaho fences of brush (Stephen, (b), 344).

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

428 A typical instance of male succession is that of Kaʔada and his three nephews. Apart from other holdings Kaʔada's father owned a large tract (from Camps 58 to 57 and beyond, see map, Fig. 80) which Kaʔada and his elder brother inherited. The three sons of the latter fell heir to his share. In the flood of 1911 the creek assumed a [139] new course, dividing this tract neatly in two; whereupon Kaʔada took the section west of the creek for his own and gave up using any part of the eastern portion. His nephews kept the eastern tract undivided, even after the death of the middle member of the trio. All three lived together on this tract (Camp 57) until the youngest, Tobey, established his home on land inherited from his maternal grandmother's brother (Camp 55). A small part of the tract south of Camp 58 lay abandoned for years. Kaʔada's intention of reclaiming it was well known at the time of my first visit, but considered vague; in 1919, he cleared it.

Bob's land was inherited by his widow and her adult son by a former husband. Bob had no male relatives; his older sister, who is well provided for, and another sister's grandson, who often lived with him, received nothing. The heirs have not divided the land.

Nina planted a cornfield independent of her husband. The field belonged to her father's younger brother, Panamida, who let her use it for the support of her two small 423 sons. After her death, Panamida took it back, planting there the next season contrary to custom, but with the approval of the community. Panamida gives some of the corn to Nina's sons.

An uncultivated field, now used only as the dance ground, is claimed by Smiley and Panamida. Smiley, who owned the land, gave it to his daughter for the use of her children; she having married Panamida. She and all her children, save one, are now dead. Panamida claims the field as his, but Smiley says that now the children are dead the field is his again.

425 Land is also exchanged and sold. Sinyella exchanged a strip of corn land near Rock Jones's house with the latter for a piece below Navaho Falls on which he then planted fig trees. When Jess married he bought a piece of uncleared land for a house site and pasture from Manakadja (an acre and a half for thirty-five dollars). In a measure, this is land given for support of a woman relative—although the price is fair enough—since Jess's wife formerly lived with Manakadja, her mother's father and her nearest male relative save one.

The products of the land belong to those who own it. Others who 423 assist in caring for the harvest, etc., have no proprietary rights although 465 they are commonly paid in kind. This is distinctly compensation. For instance, on one occasion Sinyella had eight women assisting him in curing the fruit of the many peach trees he owns. Two were members of his family group; the others were not closely related. Each one received part of the crop in payment.

Natural products also belong to the land-owner. Trees and brush 423 may not be cut without his consent. Xutin owns a cornfield, inherited from his paternal grandfather, west of the old creek bed. In the flood of

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

1911 the creek took a new course, cutting off the western margin of the field, a few feet wide. Mark could not cut the apparently abandoned trees which grow there for a public bridge without his permission—which he did not ask; hence no bridge. 423

A different conception has grown up about fruit trees, which may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. They are often planted on a relative's land. Thus, Foster planted some fig trees on Jess's (his mother's brother's son) land. When they bear, Foster and Jess, at his solicitation, will share the fruit. If Foster dies without issue, he may tell Jess to keep the trees, or else to destroy them. It is not possible to isolate the idea in most cases, because the land on which an orchard stands must necessarily be in the control of the one owning the trees, but it is significant that they customarily speak of inheriting the orchard rather than the land. So far as they are owned independent of the land, fruit trees are individual possessions, like any personal belongings.

These two notions concerning the products of the land may come into conflict. Duke owns an alfalfa field which is farmed, partly in his interest, by Billy. On the rare occasions Duke is home, he lives with Billy. When Kit Jones cut willows to thatch his house, from the field, Billy objected, maintaining that the brush belonged to him. He threatened to burn the brush as soon as it was dry; Kit believed he was sincere. Kit and Billy are equally related to Duke, being sons of Duke's father's brother and sister respectively. The Jones family (Kit's father and brothers) and Billy have interests in a large fig tree growing on this land. The situation was aggravated by earlier cases of personal conflict, and on this occasion Kit's horses were destroying the alfalfa. Kit's contentions were based, first, on his relationship to Duke, and second, on the dissociation of the produce from the land. 423 578

I do not believe that land, or at least the produce, is thought of as different from personal property, since it suffers destruction on the death of the owner like his other belongings. It is customary to let such land lie idle and weed-covered for one or two years. The crop would grow all right, but they do not like to plant on the dead man's land. Thus, Bob's widow and her son have not planted his land since his death in the winter of 1918. Nina planted a field independently of her husband; he did not plant there the year after her death. As pointed out above, Panamida used another field of hers contrary to this custom. If a man or woman died while a crop was standing, half of it would be used by the heirs and the remaining portion cut down to dry until it can be burned. It is customary to give death-bed instructions to this effect. 423 768

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

422 Other property consists of houses, horses, dress, weapons and tools, and the immaterial possessions, shamanistic materials and chieftainship. So far as houses may be conceived as individually owned, they belong to 423 342 the male head, since he can send his wife (and children?) away. But nothing else is possible, since the field in which it stands belongs to him. [462] At least all the heavier work of house building is done by the men. The [968] house is burned after the death of an inmate.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by men alone. They have 422 had a fair number of these ever since Spanish days: Garcés found them [462] plentifully supplied with live stock in 1776.[1] Two or three good riding [175] horses are killed on their owner's death; others are given away. Saddles [968] are often burned or destroyed, sometimes being left on the horse when it is killed.

Personal possessions are not numerous. Men and women own their blankets and clothing, with perhaps a gala dress apiece. A man owns his weapons, tools, some buckskins, and perhaps a mask and charm or two; a woman her household utensils, pots, baskets, and field tools. In other words, each owns the articles peculiar to his sex. Husband and wife own and dispose of their possessions independently. I have never seen either [593] interfere with the other's transaction when selling specimens to me: 422 advice was, however, sometimes asked and acted on. Children own little 432 or no property, a condition which struck both Cushing[2] and myself as 858 being sharply in contrast with that at Zuñi. For instance, when buying a small burden basket used solely by a little girl, her mother set the price. Laying this simply to the girl's bashfulness, I offered the coin to her Zuñi-fashion, but her mother objected, claiming it as hers. To test this, I attempted to buy a similar basket from Jess's little daughter. This had been made and presented to her by her paternal grandmother. But the bargain was struck by her parents, although they turned the purchase money over to her. Perhaps boys are somewhat more favorably situated, since they freely sold their bows and arrows when I met them hunting in sport. These weapons were all products of their elders.

A dying man states his wishes respecting the disposal of his posses- 428 sions. This includes land, although the succession to this is rather predetermined. To be sure, most of his choicest belongings, clothing, weap- [968] ons, horse, etc., are burned or buried with him. Such articles as are permitted to remain are inherited by his children or by members of his family. A woman's possessions go to her children or to her own family.

[illegible]
[illegible], p. 221.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

where others pushed them into the cave. When the entrance was filled, they set fire to the wood and suffocated all those inside: none escaped.[1] 726

Torts.

If a man accidentally hurt another, he would give a present to assuage his injured feelings and prevent retaliation. Neither husband nor wife was responsible to the other for injuries to their children. If a foreigner murdered a Havasupai, his relatives would immediately revenge themselves on the murderer. In spite of their intimate relations with the Walapai, fracases do occur; recently knives were drawn in a dispute over a horserace. If a Havasupai killed a Walapai, his relatives might pay a blanket, horse, or buckskin to prevent his being killed in retaliation. A chief would accompany them to the Walapai. Similarly, the Walapai would offer to pay if one of their number killed a Havasupai. When two men quarrel, as when one sets upon his wife's lover, bystanders interfere before either comes to grief. A shaman is killed for his misdeeds (p. 230). 682 [593] 648 683 [628] 627 683

A theft by a Navaho is instanced wherein revenge is taken by killing and despoiling an innocent member of that tribe (p. 367). Sinyella's father received recompense (a blanket) from a Hopi who stole his Navaho wife (p. 227). 628 648 685

Comparative Notes

Data on residence after marriage are lacking for many tribes in this area. Yet there seems to be some local differentiation. Matrilocal residence as the normal procedure holds for the Hopi, Zuñi, Sia, and undoubtedly other Pueblos. It is important to know how residence is affected by male ownership of houses on the northern Rio Grande and by ownership by either sex in the middle Pueblo area. In Laguna at least there is both matrilocal and patrilocal residence. Dumarest indicates Cochiti as patrilocal, but Starr has it matrilocal. The Navaho may be matrilocal and the Kiowa certainly are.[2] Patrilocal residence occurs in the Southwest among the Pima, Papago, Yuma, Cahuilla, evidently the Western Apache and Northern Diegueño, and perhaps the Gabrielino.[3] Temporary matrilocal residence is found among the Havasupai, Apache (all other groups?), Mohave, Cocopa, Tepecano, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Patwin, the Northern Maidu of the foothills, Northeastern Maidu, and occasionally among the Southern Diegueño and Wind River Shoshoni. The Northern Maidu of the Sac- 171 591 [423]

[1] Compare the same procedure of the Pawnee (Hopkins, 73 75).
[2] Kroeber, (j), 93; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 30; Parsons, (d), 170; Dumarest, 148; Starr, (a), 43; Lipps, 44; Curtis, I, 125–127; Mooney, (c), 233.
[3] Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, I, 133; II, 58, 66; Gifford, (a), 173, 180; Rust, 11.

Zuñiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

long, folded back the cloth in which it was wrapped and breaking off a small chunk, handed it to me saying, "Eat!" How long it had lain there, growing harder and drier with age, I had no way of knowing, but to refuse her hospitality would give offense. I took a bite. At first it tasted like dried sweet potato, but the mass grew bigger and bigger until my mouth was full of coarse, hard fibers. I made an excuse for leaving, that I might get rid of it without hurting Gentle Annie's pride. I learned later that the Indians dried mescal in sheets and stored it as this slab had been stored, so I may have had my first and only taste of mescal.

When I arrived at Little Jim's home, his wife E-e was leaving to empty and clean her storehouse. I accompanied her for I wanted to learn more of their ancient and peculiar method of storing food. The small stone granary, with a round opening for the insertion or removal of food, was built in a crevice in the canyon wall. The hard stratum beneath made a solid floor that rodents could not penetrate. Neither could they work their way through the stone walls, plastered with a hard cement of native manufacture from material available in the canyon. There was a never-ending fight against rodents. The numerous rats, mice and chipmunks, when winter reduced their food supply of growing plants, raided any storehouse into which they could gnaw their way.

The opening in E-e's storehouse was closed with a flat stone, sealed in place with cement in which the family's mark of identification had been placed. If anyone helped himself to her stores, a break in this seal would warn her of the theft. She dug away the mortar, set the stone aside, then lifted out the few stores that were left.

Crawling through the opening, she brushed up the floor, then began storing the food she had brought with her: ears of seed corn in one place; shelled corn in another; strings of dried squash and pumpkin necessitating special care to prevent spoilage, by themselves. With amusing gestures, when I failed to understand her native tongue, she showed me how she tied the dried seed of

Sailiff Y-S (ca. 1901) 1664 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

camera they feared, so leaving it in a shady spot, I went over to where they crouched behind a boulder and asked them why they ran. With much excited sputtering they made me understand that if I took a picture of them, their souls would go into the picture. One could not live without a soul. They illustrated with exaggerated gestures how dead they would be when their souls left their bodies.

I retrieved my camera and opening and focusing it, tucked it out of sight under my arm. When they returned, talking and laughing, I snapped the picture without their knowledge.

Families who owned large plots of ground had several storehouses, some as many as five. Regardless of how the land had been distributed when the People of the Blue Water settled in the canyon, through inheritance some individuals had acquired more land than they could till, and it was loaned or rented to friends or relatives. There were a few whose plots were no larger than the floor of a room, but every family had at least one storehouse tucked away in a crevice in the wall.

It was late afternoon when I returned to the school and wrote my report. I had been so intent on learning how the people raised their food and preserved it that I had not measured a foot of ground, nor counted the members of the tribe. Besides, what the Commissioner must know, I finally decided, was that the Havasupai needed garden tools; that the school children ate out of doors in all kinds of weather, and that their food was cooked on a range protected only by a bush. These things he could do something about. Here is my report, as it appeared in the *Annual Report* of the Department of the Interior for the year 1901:

Sir: I have the honor to submit the annual report of the Havasupai tribe and school for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901.

Havasupai Tribe—The Havasupai is entirely self-supporting. He depends on the products of his farm for his livelihood. He is proud of his gardens and his orchards, but prouder still of the fact that he labors. Living on the banks of a clear, sparkling stream, he is never troubled by crop failure. He utilizes the water of the stream for irrigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him.

3 James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Some of the skins are dressed with the hair on and are used for clothing, as sleeping mats, or are sold to the travellers at the trains or traded at the stores on the railway. But many of the better skins are carefully tanned and dressed and converted into buckskins, as before stated.

This, indeed, is one of their staple articles of trade, good buckskins fetching as high as five dollars and even ten dollars cash. I have several times seen a blanket for which I had offered eight dollars or ten dollars readily exchanged for a simple buckskin, and it is not an unusual occurrence to note a trade where a fair Navaho pony is given for a large and well-dressed skin.

The outside Indians that the Havasupais are familiar with are the friendly Wallapais, whom they call their cousins, the Hopis and the Navahoes. They have often had wars with the hated Mohaves, Apaches, and Paiutis. The Chemhuevis, Pimas, and Maricopas are their distant, little known, but accepted friends. Far-away Zuni is Si-u, and still farther Acoma is Ac-o-ca-va, and though intercourse with the people of these villages is rare, it has always been friendly.

For the grazing and watering of their horses and other stock each head of a family has a certain region allotted to him, over the boundaries of which he may not allow his stock to wander, except when removing them or by special permission. Manakacha, the head Kohot, takes the range formerly owned or controlled by Captain Navaho, the late Kohot, viz., the region of Black Tanks. Rock Jones (the chief medicine-man) has Topocobya Canyon and the plateau above as far as the other side of the Grand Canyon towards the Mystic Spring Trail, where begins the territory of Vesna, Captain Burro, and

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

231 Chicapanagie. This includes the south banks of the
•423 Grand Canyon towards the Little Colorado River and including the Mystic Spring, the Bright Angel, the Grand View, Hance's old and the Red Canyon Trails, in the neighborhood of which, for centuries, the Havasupais have been descending. Indeed, it was the Havasupais who made the "Indian Gardens" that are so charming a feature of the Bright Angel Trail. Sinyela has the upper part of Havasu Canyon reaching to Bass's camp at the Caves, named by the Havasupais Wai-a-mel. Uta and Waluthama have the lower portion of Havasu Canyon, around to the head of Beaver Canyon and all the territory on the south side as far as Hack-a-tai-a—the Colorado River.

Thus there are no disputes arising over the wrongful
577 pasturage of stock, as each Indian regards himself as
578 bound by the strictest ties of honor not to deviate from these established and long-observed boundaries.

As I have before stated, the Havasupais at one time
131 owned the whole of the Kohonino Forest region and
423 also the trails into Hack-a-tai-a (the Grand Canyon). From time immemorial they have hunted from Havasu (Cataract) Canyon to the Little Colorado, and, of course, have had access to the water pockets, or rock tanks, in which rain water accumulates all along this dry and springless region. In talking with one of the In-
648 dians recently he asked me if the Great Father at Washington could do nothing for him and his people so that they might still continue to use the water pockets of their ancestral hunting-ground. He said, "You sabe Ha-ha-poo-ha (Rain Tank) and Ha-wai-i-tha-qual-ga (Rowe's Well) and Ha-ga-tha-wa-di-a (the water hole near Hance's Camp) and Ha-ha-i-ga-sa-jul-ga (Red

plums, almonds, and pomegranates, there being only a few trees of the latter three kinds. 245 177

Whiting lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, squash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), cotton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig, apple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantaloupes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw and alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions, chilies, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees (Whiting n. d., 60). 241 177

Spier (1928, 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game animal, with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Mountain lions were killed occasionally, but the meat was generally abhorred. Smaller game included cottontails, jackrabbits, squirrels, and various kinds of birds. McGregor (1951, 17) reports predators now present on the plateau are lions bobcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes. The Havasupai are now restricted to hunting deer and antelope only in the legal season. Rabbits are an occasional item in the daily fare, but most meat is obtained by purchase from a store or by butchering Havasupai-owned beef. The Havasupai did not eat fish, and, although Havasu Creek has been stocked several times, few Havasupai will eat fish even today. Apparently, the next storm following introduction of fish kills them or washes them down to the Colorado River. 136 262 [224]

The Reservation and Its Administration

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of an area 5 mi. wide by 12 mi. long lying on the floor of Cataract Canyon and the adjacent Esplanade. In 1882, the reservation area was reduced to 518.6 acres located entirely within the confines of Cataract Canyon. In 1940, four sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National Park to the west and south (Ladd, personal communication, 1952). 657 131 [423] [231]

Government Services

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost 100 mi. away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Cataract Canyon about 1895 (Whiting n. d., 21). 657

The Economy, Old and New

The Precontact Pattern

Before pressures of the white culture were felt, the Havasupai wintered on the plateau. Men, singly or in small groups, went there on summer hunting trips. Whiting (n. d., 61) suggests that the Havasupai "conceive of their agriculture as something incidental, a supplement to a nonagricultural way of life." Whiting points out that even today, when farming is virtually their only resource, Havasupai do not take pride in their fields as Pueblo farmers do, regarding the land rather as a confining element which restricts their freedom. He states further (p. 53) that, in the prehistoric economy, neither agricultural produce nor the wild food supply was available in sufficient quantity to sustain the population, and that it was essential for each family to supplement hunting and gathering activities by farming. This view evokes the question of how the neighboring Walapai survived in a similar environment with virtually no farming.

Whiting's thesis is in contradition to Spier's that the Havasupai are so largely agriculturists that the "loss of a crop may mean a famine year" (Spier 1928, 101). Wild food plants were primarily a winter supplement to field products. Spier notes further (p. 108) that hunting is "a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products."

Perhaps the difference Whiting discerns between Pueblo and Havasupai attitudes toward farming is in part a result of natural environment. Certainly, Pueblo farmers must pit their ingenuity against desert aridity to win a harvest, while a seed dropped in a Cataract Canyon field will grow with only occasional attention from the farmer.

When adverse conditions brought Havasupai subsistence to a dangerously low level, as occasionally happened, some families would go to live with friends or relatives among the Hopi and Walapai. In turn, the Havasupai were hosts to families from both these tribes in years of bountiful harvest.

Spier (1928, 99-100) reported that the Havasupai journeyed from the plateau to the canyon in early spring, planting activities beginning in mid-April. In summer, everyone, except those who were away on trading trips, lived in the canyon village. Corn ripened for use by the middle of June, and the harvest continued until September, when other domestic crops and wild plant foods were also harvested and prepared for winter storage. By the middle of October, family groups were drifting back to semipermanent winter camps on the plateau.

When families were camped in Cataract Canyon, women made frequent gathering trips to the Esplanade. A number of springs there served as focal points for camps of certain families. Ownership of the various springs was vested in specific individuals, and both the springs and the surrounding land

Havasupai Reservation includes about 300 acres of cultivable land. Asahel Perry, Indian Service extension agent, opined that in 1958 between 80 and 100 acres was under cultivation. A sizeable proportion of the arable acreage is not utilized due to the small size of individual plots. Almost always a family's holding consists of several patches of land scattered in different parts of the canyon, a consequence of the manner in which land is inherited or is distributed as need arises. Fences and ditches on the periphery of each field occupy a strip of ground about 3 ft. in width. Attempts to persuade tribal members to throw individual plots into a tribal cooperative farming program met with very limited success and the project was abandoned. Removal of fences to facilitate use of modern farm methods no doubt suggests to land owners a possible loss of claim to land or reduction in acreage. 311 [657]

Land ownership is a source of frequent controversy between Havasupai individuals. The Indian Service recognizes no clear legal title of an individual to a plot of land, considering instead that an individual has a right to use the land which it regards as tribally owned. On the other hand, the Indian Service recognizes individual ownership of houses on the land. 423 [578]

Five Havasupai individuals have accepted employment under the Indian Service Relocation Program. Three men, two of them unmarried, returned to the reservation within a short time. One man, a family head, has now been employed in a Los Angeles furniture factory for three years. An unmarried woman, in hospital work for 18 months, probably will continue on relocation; she had been previously employed off the reservation for approximately six years. 657

Religion

Havasupai religion finds expression in the songs and simple ritual of the sweat bath, in mythology, and in a body of traditional folk beliefs, as it does also in funeral customs and in shamanistic practices. Although religious ideology and ceremony are weakly developed, orientation toward the natural world and explanation of certain phenomena pertaining to man and his environment is made primarily in religious terms. 771

Spier (1928, 289) classed the Havasupai with the Great Basin tribes in meagerness of religious development. He states that they resembled both the "Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism." They resemble, he says, the Southwestern tribes only in their infrequent use of prayer plumes and in prayers for rain and crop fertility. Traditional killing of an unsuccessful shaman he likens to the practice of the lower Colorado tribes. 771 114 171

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 239-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 283-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. 764

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1967) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768] [114] [423]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [19] [171] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

422 by women in housekeeping, food gathering and so on.
562

In former times an individual's personal property, including clothing, [768] tools, weapons, and other small articles, was burned at his death; today, it is burned or interred with him. In aboriginal days a woman seldom owned anything that was not destroyed or discarded at her death. In primitive groups most personal property is useful only to members of the original owner's sex; among the Havasupai, therefore, women inherited nothing.

423 Land, trees, and horses were owned and inherited by men. Land was
428 inherited by a man's sons and grandsons, or it reverted to males in his consanguine family, usually his brothers or nephews.

Tensions and Changes

598 Today, a certain amount of feminine resentment exists against male
562 priority in land inheritance. This resentment appears strongest among
428 women without brothers who saw land pass from their fathers to male rela-
177 tives such as cousins one or more degrees removed, and among widows who failed to inherit land from their husbands. Havasupai women observe that among their white neighbors women inherit and own property, including land, an example which encourages them in their desire for rights of ownership and inheritance equal with men. Since many of the younger women have achieved some measure of economic independence, it is unlikely that this experience will lead to their submissive acceptance of an increase in emphasis upon male precedence in ownership and inheritance rights.

428 In regard to aboriginal land ownership, Spier (1928, 231) wrote: "Title
562 to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization, title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support." He em-[423] phasized, in his 1957 communication, that land is of no value to the Havasupai save as it is used. "There would have been no point for them owning land without putting it to use, at the moment or in the foreseeable future."

423 In the present population at least 10 women own one or more plots of
562 land. The number of feminine land owners is uncertain, because five of the women have sisters unmarried, living off the reservation, or living on the reservation but married to men who themselves own land. Under questioning, several of these women asserted that their land, or the use of it, would be redistributed, should the need arise, among their sisters under circumstances of marriage, change of residence, or widowhood. It appears that the present owners have the use of their lands, but that they hold such lands in trust for a group of related persons of which they are a part. The [428] number of feminine land owners, therefore, is subject to change on the basis of heirship not yet settled.

Among the 10 feminine land owners, six women inherited land from their fathers while four inherited from their husbands. With one exception, in father-to-daughter inheritance, there were no sons; in the exception, the son himself inherited part of his father's land. The latter case is a good example of the role residence plays in land inheritance: Richard Siyuja died in 1946 leaving four adult children. His only son resides off the reservation, but several plots of land are considered his. Among the girls, only one seems permanently settled on the reservation, and the remainder of Richard's land is regarded as hers. However, she explained that if her sisters should move to Supai, she and her brother would give them some land or let them use it if they needed it. She made little or no distinction between ownership and use, apparently viewing it with small concern. She said her brother and all three sisters might farm their land together, dividing the harvest according to their individual needs. (This case lends support to Spier's emphasis upon land use as a factor in ownership.) 423 428 562

In only one of the six above cases was there a surviving brother of the deceased, and he has been a longtime resident on a neighboring reservation. However, there were other male relatives as closely related to the deceased as are some men who have inherited land. Also, three of the six women who inherited land are absentee land owners, two living, perhaps temporarily, at Grand Canyon and a third living permanently on another reservation.

Among the four widows who inherited from their husbands, three had dependent children while the fourth was childless. One widow with children remarried without losing her land, although her deceased husband had three surviving brothers. Some of her land has been divided among her sons as they have attained maturity, but she retains one plot for her own house and garden. The remaining three widows did not remarry. [587]

When the widow who remarried was again widowed after bearing a daughter by her second husband, she and her eldest stepdaughter bitterly contested ownership of three plots owned by the deceased. The tribal council decided in favor of the stepdaughter, reserving no land for two other stepdaughters or the widow's own daughter. The deciding factor here seems to have been need of the land.

Several of the women use all or part of their land themselves; others permit relatives to use it, sometimes on a share basis. A few plots of poor land remain unused. One of these women, in addition to her own land, farms a plot belonging to her absentee brother.

In another instance, a widow with dependent children inherited no land. Instead, it fell to her only adult son who now farms it. Expectation is that this son will divide the land with his brothers as they mature and need it. Because the son who inherited is unmarried and lives with his mother, she, in effect, has the use of the land in cooperation with her son for the suste-

423 nance of herself and her children.
428
562 A former land owner who died childless left her land, inherited from her husband, to her brother, who is now too feeble to work. The land has now descended to the use of her brother's son, although part of it is sometimes used by a man whose relationship to her, if any, is distant.

Three former residents of a small side canyon, a brother and sister and a man not closely related to them if at all, consider themselves joint owners of this small recess.

423 The attitude of women toward their general exclusion as inheritors of
428 land several times came to light during interviews. One woman, indicating
562 a piece of property where the house of her paternal crosscousin stands,
578 remarked, "That land is really mine. My father gave it to me when he died but--took it away from me." This woman's father also owned one of the newer houses which was not destroyed at his death, and which is now used by another of her male crosscousins. This woman related that her father's house also belonged to her, but her cousin had taken possession of it. They quarreled when she asked for the house, and her cousin told her she could not have it unless she would saw it in two and take half. "But I didn't want that," she said. "We didn't speak for more than a year after that quarrel." She also claimed a horse which she did not receive, her male cousins inheriting all of her father's herd. Both the woman in question and her male cousins who took all of her father's property are aggressive individuals. The woman's husband is of mild temperament; had he been otherwise, settlement in this case might have been different.

In another instance, a widow who inherited land from her husband for the use of her minor children and herself, also claimed another plot that had belonged to him. However, the land was taken from her by the same man who claimed the house in the above case. This man was only remotely related to the deceased, if at all. The land was adjacent to, or near, his, and it appears that he was able to take possession mainly because there were no men in the widow's family who would take issue with him over it. The widow stated that the usurper slapped her and knocked her to the ground in a quarrel over it, but this has not been verified from other sources. (The widow in question has a marked tendency to fancy that others are persecuting her.)

[177] In summary, although land inheritance formerly was patrilineal, a small percentage of inheritors in recent years have been women, acquiring land either from consanguine or affinal relatives. Women seem increasingly interested in owning land in their own right, and several of them have acted aggressively to this end.

Ownership privileges of white women set an example which Havasupai women appear to envy. In addition, modifications in Havasupai political and social structure with consequent economic adaptations point away from any increased emphasis upon patrilineal inheritance, and therefore, toward increased emphasis upon property ownership and land inheritance rights for women. 423 928 562 578 177

Arts and Crafts

Basket weaving is almost the sole outlet for creative artistic talent among the women. Interest in it has so fallen off that, in 1950, only half a dozen women were actively occupied in making baskets despite the fact that their supply never equals tourist demand. It was said that the work of a few other women who had tried basket weaving at one time or another was too inferior in quality for sale. Most of the older women are able to make twined baskets for their own use, but they seldom do. Apparently no one has twined a burden basket for some years, and only three examples of this type were observed about the village. The only other basket type seen in use was a broad, shallow tray convenient for winnowing seeds, parching corn, pinyon nuts, or seeds, and for drying peaches, figs, or other fruit. 285 463

Spier (1928, 126-7) identifies two coiled baskets, one a flattened globular form used for stone boiling and the other a tray used for winnowing or parching. An informant at the present time reports that a shallow bowl from which a family took its meals was also made by coiling. Presumably, all other basketry forms were produced by the twining technique. 285

Today the few utilitarian baskets woven are twined, while those made for sale to tourists are nearly all coiled.

Although women traditionally traded baskets to the Hopi, Navaho, and Paiute, demand lessened as metal containers became available. Basket weaving for home use declined, although the Havasupai continued to make certain types, including burden baskets and trays, which were not duplicated in metal form. [439] [177]

The advent of tourists to Grand Canyon National Park for a time stimulated interest in basket manufacture, but emphasis gradually changed from utility baskets in twined stitch to coiled ornamental basketry in a variety of new shapes and sizes. Coiling was the weave preferred by tourists.

Formerly, emphasis was upon utility rather than upon artistic effect or originality of decoration. Baskets were sturdy and durable. Weavers in general kept to basic styles, although the variety of shape in water bottles suggests some inventiveness beyond requirements of utility. Spier (1928, 134) reports four striking different shapes of water bottles, although three are variants of a single fundamental form.

586 562 [177] A Hopi woman divorces her husband merely by setting his personal effects outside the door and he has no alternative but to leave. A Hopi man initiates divorce by moving back to his mother's house. A Havasupai woman, on the other hand, in earlier days, could not divorce her husband without his consent, but she could be turned out at his will. Today, in the acculturation situation, a Havasupai woman can divorce her husband.

A Hopi woman, in crisis, is secure with home and land owned by herself or her mother and is assured that male relatives will assist with farming labor. In contrast, upon divorce or widowhood, a Havasupai woman with few exceptions, finds herself dispossessed and thrust into a position of dependence upon some new group where her presence and that of her children may be welcome or unwelcome but is almost sure to be economically burdensome. She has no economic assets aside from her own ability to work, and oftentimes she may find her dependence upon relatives emotionally disturbing to both them and herself.

562 [423] Among the seminomadic and polygynous Navaho and also among the sedentary Hopi, women are in a strong social position by virtue of the matrilineal clan system and matrilocal residence. Navaho women, in addition, are economically favored through their ownership of sheep and their industry in blanket weaving or rug weaving. Havasupai women own no property comparable to sheep, and their income from basketweaving has not been exploited to the point of significant monetary reward.

562 648 [439] While the Havasupai had some association with the Navaho and maintained very friendly trade relations with the Hopi under aboriginal conditions, their closest neighbors were the Walapai and, in one or two periods, they also associated rather closely with the Paiute (Kroeber, 1935, and Ramon Dangerfield, personal interview, 1958). The position of women in the Walapai tribe is almost identical with that of Havasupai women, except that Walapai women can become shamans and, perhaps, participate more freely in singing, dancing, and other social diversions. Paiute women, apparently, also occupied a position very similar to that of Havasupai women.

[582] [177] In comparing herself with Walapai or Paiute women, whom she was most likely to know well under aboriginal conditions, the Havasupai woman may have seen nothing to excite her envy or admiration. The situation probably differed, however, in her view of Hopi and Navaho women. The extreme rarity of intermarriage between the Havasupai and the Hopi or Navaho may well have been traceable to the difference in inheritance and residence patterns and the consequently less favorable position of women in the Havasupai tribe. Apparently the present contrast with white women has done most to arouse dissatisfaction among Havasupai women. Education and economic opportunities now open to Havasupai women are combining to change their roles and enlarge their rights.

175 648 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1892 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

267 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. [175 Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, [177 who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 233 1857. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand [428 and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes sev- 591 eral generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct [591 unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot [765 lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

●423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

422 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the [423 settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in 251 a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

THE HAVASUPAI

fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in between. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [251]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 524

The Havasupi house *(kawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or hogan. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 342 [354] [355] [356]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [171]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 423

343 plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could
423 readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the In-
dians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at
times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock
[13] walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of
this stored heat is radiated during the night.

252 Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking
is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed un-
der trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or
132 seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights
361 and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of
the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the
plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is
plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the
[34] plateau, the house is a sort of hogan of logs and earth, more solid in
construction than in the canyon.

264 In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the
[35] meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of
fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together
on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always
[16] stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in
the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these,
sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish
of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces
of meat and vegetables are taken from the stews with the fingers,
tortes, or knives, while mouth is scooped up with chunks of bread. Gen-
erally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are
visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are
through.

252 Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard
415 cans, and tin baskets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in
[28] use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating
which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is
used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the bas-
kets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

[27] The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vege-
252 tables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns,
412 and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard
stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is
turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off
the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning
the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried
meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

177 The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The
291 men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers
302 large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The
women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves,
of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the
usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs
down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes.
It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the
only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handker-
chief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manu-
facture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords
for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the
older men and women. During the warm weather the women and chil-
dren go barefoot around camp.

291 Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moc-
casin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

THE HAVASUPAI

when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 [525]

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 848 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 [523] 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. [17] 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pinon log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Farish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. [18] 121

7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

then, is the special form which the Havasupai have given to the combined Plains and apron dresses. Even this is not peculiar to them alone, for the Yavapai have an identical costume. Other tribes on the border of mingled distributions have made the combination in other ways; the Kaibab have added a short front apron over the Plains dress, the Navaho linked two squares of cloth in the manner of the Plains dress, while quite another combination is the use of aprons and long dress alternately, as among the Klamath. Here we have illustrations of two kinds of cultural composition, namely combination and duplication.

We may observe another process, the transfer of a technique, in the sex division of labor. All work in skins is in the hands of Havasupai men from the butchery of a deer to the manufacture of a woman's dress. Skin dressing by men was also the custom among the Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa. Skin dressing and working in the Plains, on the other hand, is a womanly task, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men as garment workers has been transferred to another material among their Rancheria neighbors.

Quite another analysis may be made in the case of games. It is possible to show that the moccasin game of the upper Mississippi drainage and the Southwestern hidden ball game, while superficially alike, are so because of convergent development.

To turn to quite another sphere, we find here ownership of fruit trees independent of the ground on which they stand, a feature strongly reminiscent of parts of Melanesia and the west coast of Africa. The factors in this development are obvious. Havasupai ownership of land is really ownership of the produce of the land, which is looked upon as so much personal property. Like other personal belongings, the standing crops are ordinarily cut down and burned on the death of their owner. Fruits (peaches, ultimately derived from Spanish sources, and nuts) were seemingly brought in as personal possessions and maintained as such. It is, then, quite in harmony with Havasupai sentiment toward land produce that the few fruit trees should be looked on as personal belongings to be disposed of by testament or sale regardless of the site they occupy.

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON HAVASUPAI LAND TENURE[1]

ELMAN SERVICE

THE HAVASUPAI INDIANS are a closely knit, isolated band in northern Arizona which has numbered around 200-250 people for as long as we know of them. Dr Leslie Spier visited them in 1918, 1919 and 1921 and has published a full description of their culture.[2] Geographic isolation has restricted the disruptive effects of white acculturation, so that Spier's ethnography is still accurately descriptive of the Havasupai, except for the few modern changes to be discussed in this paper. Aside from my interpretations as to the meaning of these more recent data, I have added nothing which was not already discussed by Spier in his monograph.

The Havasupai live by intensive irrigation farming, and make full use of the approximately 100 acres of tillable land. They are, understandably, strongly attached to their land, and feel that they live in a beautiful oasis which is unique in the arid Grand Canyon region. The individual land holdings are of very small patches, which, because of the vagaries of inheritance, are widely scattered among the holdings of other individuals. There are no particular problems involved in the control and apportioning of water for the fields, as the creek which bisects their canyon supplies more than enough for everyone. Upkeep of the main irrigation ditches is a community affair, while the lateral ditches are kept up by the persons effected.

The Havasupai have no clan system, nor do they even recognize lineages based on relationships beyond the grandparental generation. The conjugal unit and the patrilocal extended family are the chief social structures within the village, which now consists of 38 occupied camps. In an interesting paper called *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*,[3] Spier pointed out the possibility of patrilineal gentes arising here should there occur (1) a greater emphasis in patrilineal inheritance, and (2) a greater regularity in patrilocal residence, which together might tend to bring a further extension of kinship recognition in the father's line. At the time of his visits, the usual post-marital residence was temporarily matrilocal, followed in a year or two by patrilocality.

1 Read before Section H-Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1946. The data were obtained during a visit to Supai, Arizona, in May, June, and July, 1946.

2 *Havasupai Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 29, Part 3, 1928).

3 American Anthropologist, Vol. 24, pp. 487-488, 1922.

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing.

Out of 57 inter-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matrilocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later.

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved consanguineal cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations.

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are on the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he

4 Almost half of the houses are more of a permanent type and are not burned at the occupant's death, but are temporarily abandoned, as he occupied four when married. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, as they can be considered negligible as a factor in the discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Hopi-Cliff*

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

423 planted stand in the fields and not or are destroyed. These things are so closely
[423] his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
768 he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
[425] as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any decision he may wish to make.

177 Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
648 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
428 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Prob-
621 lems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption that the Havasupai man owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed according to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any perverse notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
578 to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance patterns which justified this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and
428

Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-233, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as criticism, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Gookin, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and cooperation.

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

than a closer one. It is explicitly felt and avowed that no man should be without enough land for himself and his family, and it is this feeling which tends to keep land holdings more equalized than they would be otherwise. It is quite possible that in this factor public opinion, with a conception of community rights in land, intrudes itself most clearly and overrides the idea of familial rights.

All this is not to say that the land is at any given time always equally divided among families in accordance with the enumerated principles. For example, there is at the present time a widespread dissatisfaction with the amount of land controlled by the Sinyella family. This is because, of the once numerous family, only two brothers remain in the canyon, and they are both unable to work. Consequently they have considerably more land than they can use. This excess land lies idle because several younger members of the Sinyella family are now living outside the canyon. It is difficult to foretell exactly how the community will resolve this situation, but I should guess that if the younger Sinyellas do not return soon, someone else, probably newlyweds, will get permission to use some of the land. After a period of occupation, this land will be thought of as theirs. This is the way such conditions have often worked out previously. Spier has stressed that proprietary rights in land depended more emphatically on use,[7] and this feeling seems to be strong today. It is difficult to lend a piece of land for a while, for after the new incumbent has used it for more than a couple of years, he has a pretty valid claim on it and is difficult to dislodge.

In some cases widows hold some of their husband's land, but it is usually, perhaps always, because of the magnanimity of their dead husband's relatives. As soon as a widow remarries, the land reverts to the original family.[8] In general, land tends to stay in the consanguineal family. Rarely, a daughter as well as a son may share in the family land, especially if she marries a man who has little or no land of his own. The Havasupai say that newlyweds should be given land by whichever family can best afford it, or preferably by both. If they are not given land outright, as is sometimes the case, they should help work the land and share in the produce of whichever family can best accommodate them. Detailed inheritance histories show that actually the husband's family tends to assume this burden more often than the girl's, but it is not a clear cut rule. As already suggested, it is this condition which seems to determine the present day post-marital residence. There is no marriage rule, beyond a feeling that close

7 *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 231.

8 See Ruth Benedict, *Marital Property Rights in Bilateral Society* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, pp. 368-373, 1936).

relatives should not marry.[9] This probably helps consider, in part, for the lack of 423
patterning in acquisition of land for newly-weds. Sometimes a couple may hold [512]
different small plots of land which came to them from a variety of sources.

Land is sometimes held and worked in common by a group of relatives, though it is always divided as a matter of convenience. Sometimes only certain plots are held in common by an extended family, while the others are tended by individual members. There is apparently no feeling that one way is better than another. The tribe owns a large tract of grazing land on the Plateau, where they keep herds of communally owned horses. This area is common tribal land with no boundaries.

It is apparent that it would be misleading to sum up Havasupai land rights as "private property," for as Spier had already indicated,[10] the superficial appearance of individual land ownership is really ownership of the produce of the land. Actually there seem to be varieties of rights which pertain variously to the individual proprietor, the family, and the village.[11] The individual proprietor's rights to the land are largely rights to use the land. His control does not extend appreciably further than this, as can be inferred from the fact that if he fails to use the land, someone else soon occupies it. He has practically no rights which involve the disposal of the land, except insofar as he may be an influential voice in the deliberations of his family.

The rights of the consanguineal family are greatest, and it is they who, in an immediate sense, have control over the disposition of their land. The rights of the community tend to be ultimate rights. Public opinion, and the council, when [626]
it is moved to act by a strong public feeling, is often the force which brings a family squabble to a decision compatible with the tribal interests. The three principles which guide land disposition—relationship, personal merit, and need—are public or tribal conceptions. The factor of relationship tends to keep the land within the family, and thus objectifies the familial rights, while by the latter two principles land tends to be distributed according to the best interests of the whole community.

The fact that a feeling of community rights in land is very strong among [F2
Y13

9 Out of 39 inter-tribal marriages of individuals whose connections could be ascertained, 30 were between individuals of no traceable relationship; 9 were of distant relatives no closer than third cousins; 18 were of various degrees of second cousins; and only 2 were of first (cross) cousins, and they were once removed in generation.

10 *Problems Arising from the Cultural Position of the Havasupai* (American Anthropologist, vol. 31, pp. 213-222, 1929), p. 221.

11 See Max Gluckman, *Studies in African Land Tenure* (African Studies, vol. 3, no. 1, 1944) for a theoretical discussion of what he calls "elements of rights."

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
NT14 Plateau Yumana NT14
Havasupai

the Havasupai, and that use, merit, and need are such important considerations in the allocation of land, are factors which tend to keep patrilineal succession rather far from being a strict rule. The small community size probably helps keep the conception of village rights strong, and the limited amount of tillable land likewise contributes to the amount of community interest in land disposal, for otherwise there would soon be landless couples, while other families would have more than necessary.

One further point made by Spier should probably be discussed in connection with community size. He had mentioned the possible influence of the small population in inhibiting the group consciousness of a larger consanguineal unit, but felt that this would be overcome by the tendency toward the reduction of the number of biological groups represented in the population.[12] Genealogies show that the blood groups are becoming reduced in number, as suggested, but the Havasupai still do not trace their lineages far enough to be aware of this. Lineages are not named, and even the use of the white man's type of surname has as yet had no effect in furthering the tracing of a patrilineal lineage beyond two or three generations, at the most. The "white name" is often changed, and a family may even have a name derived from an ancestral female. As an example of the tendency for a line to proliferate into new named families, three sons of a woman named Siyuidja founded three distinct families: the Siyuidja family, the Wescogame family, and the Watahomidja family. Therefore, I feel that the small population size continues to be of significance in inhibiting nucleation of the village.

My own data, collected twenty-six years after Spier's last visit, affirm, I believe, the essential validity of his analysis of an incipient clan system in Havasupai, and I add only that it appears to me that expansion of the population plus a corresponding increase of agricultural land are necessary ingredients before a unilinear lineage could become fully crystallized here, for only then would it be likely that a rule of patrilineal succession to familial lands could operate freely without interference from the strong conception of village rights which pertains at present.

Columbia University
New York, New York

12 *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*, p. 487.

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg- 428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 858 til after puberty, although, on the death 171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. 643 In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and [727] a dance, celebrating the death of the enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, [624] by virtue of his valor and possession, is a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- 793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House,"—a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs